FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY *THE FIREBRAND.*

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an inevitable Consequence.

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No Master.

Saith man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed.
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shall we, too, crouch and quail
Ashamed, afraid of strife,
And, lest our lives untimely fail,
Embrace the Death in Life?
Nay, cry aloud, and have no fear;
We few against the world:
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurled!

It grows, it grows—are we the same,
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
No MASTER, HIGH OR LOW,
A lighting flame, a shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

—William Morris.

—o—

Is Socialism a Step toward Anarchy?

Many Republicans, Democrats, Populists, Single Taxers and Socialists admit that in the ultimate they are Anarchists. Yet, asked why they do not drop their party affiliations and come out boldly for Anarchy, they will invariably answer that their particular "ism" must be passed through first. The Republican will assure you that he can do more good within his own party, advocating radical measures, than he can do outside. The Democrat will say the same; and so on, each thinking his party a sort of primary class from which we must graduate before entering the higher grade. We are especially reminded that Socialism is the necessary and inevitable step between capitalism and Anarchy.

This, however, some of us are not prepared to admit, and the purpose of these lines is to suggest what I conceive to be good reasons for thinking, not only that Socialism is not a step, but that it is a capitalistic compromise which must be swept away with capitalism itself before the next step in economic and political evolution can be taken.

Let us now understand what I mean by Socialism. Broadly speaking it covers the entire field of sociology, including Anarchy. But a certain school has sprung up and formulated a creed and constitution giving not only what it believes to be Socialism, but also the method of reaching it.

This school calls itself the Socialist party, therefore, what it propounds has come to be commonly known as Socialism. In this article the word will be used in that sense.

These Socialists would abolish private property only in land and the tools of production and distribution. The product would be parceled out as private property to each man, according to the number of hours he worked.

A congress elected by a majority would administer the affairs of State, which, considering that all the economic, as well as the political power, would be concentrated in its hands, would certainly be a ponderous undertaking. I have not yet heard them say how large the State would be; whether under Socialism the present political boundaries would be maintained or whether the congress would administer the affairs of the world. That, however, may be a detail for future consideration which would not be expedient to introduce into the propaganda at this time. We will hear about it later on, no doubt.

Those who dissented from that program and declared in favor of the free grouping of the workers, and the voluntary association of such groups where it was convenient and desired, as against minority-suppressing, majority-selected congress, were outlawed by the party, and in derision called Anarchists.

Like the Democratic party of a century ago, they accepted the name given them by their rivals, and went out before the world to battle for it, and what it stood for.

They are proving themselves admirable propagandists, and so clear is the logic of their position that the only objection most Socialists have to their philosophy, is that the people are not yet ready for such an ideal society; that we must have Socialism first, it being the first step; and that in a thousand years we may be fit to reside in an Anarchist community.

The "step" between capitalism and Anarchy is the same as the step between monarchy and republicanism. The monarchy exists until the republic is born. The power of the monarch may be somewhat limited by the introduction of lords, senates or constitutions, but the monarchy still remains until revolution sweeps it away. No one would call Germany a republic, yet it has considerable of the paraphernalia of a republic, which may or may not check the sway of the emperor. It is generally conceded, however, that whatever that besotted lunkhead wants he usually gets, despite the fact that there are over two millions of Socialist votes staring him in the face.

Whenever a system of government begins to lose its popularity, and decay and defeat threatens it, rather than die it begins to adopt itself to the changed popular opinions. In that way it retains its power and destroys its "radical" opponent by adopting and perverting portions of his platform. This can only be done where there is a similarity of method.

Capitalism, based primarily on private property, has now reached that stage of development where it is beginning to weigh too heavily upon the backs of the people; and it feels something must be done to allay their discontent. A crumb must be cast to them for fear they get mad and take the whole bakery. This is easily accomplished.

Radicals of various colors have been crying "down with the trusts" for a long time. Socialists hold the trust promoters up as the great organizers of industry who are preparing the way for Socialism by concentrating the management of the industries in the hands of a few, which later on the Socialists will take over and "administer for the benefit of the people." The cry against trusts has become so popular that now the trusts themselves, through their party, which, by the way, is always the party in power, have joined in the chorus. In cities the municipal ownership of water, gas, and electric lighting works are being demanded. The naturalization of railroads and telegraphs are likewise being agitated. Politicians are catching up this cry and soon the work of "socializing" will be started by the capitalistic parties. Thus we see that the tendency of capitalism is toward Socialism. Now let us inquire about the tendency of Socialism.

It needs but a superficial observation to convince one that the Socialist party is drifting towards capitalism. The desire to get into office and direct the lives and affairs of others is too strong an antagonist to place before a mere theoretical principle; and our Socialist brethren have proven this to be only too true.

In Germany the Socialists have two platforms; one for the future, which they keep hidden away in a place of safety, and another for the present, upon which they hope to climb into office. Their "present" platform, which they use to attract the two million voters, discusses such ponderous questions as whether the State ought to supply school children with soup; and those who are in favor of soup vote the Socialists' ticket, and get their names on the list of the two millions we hear so much about.

In the Reichstag, the leaders of the Socialist party debate long and learnedly, with their aristocratic confreres upon such vital matters as the kind of uniform the soldiers should wear. Were there any excuse at all for a Socialist to be in the king's parliament, it would be as an obstructionist, pure and simple, who would speak against every measure introduced by the enemy. And it was the purpose of the party when it first sent members to the Reichstag, that they should expose the rottenness and stupidity of the capitalistic system; and they did for awhile. But so reactionary are these one-time revolutionists becoming, that W. T. Stead, in a review of one of their conventions, was lead to remark that there was no more danger to the monarchy from that source, and that in time it would be no more radical than Rosebery's party in England.

In France the political Socialists are in like manner deserting the economic struggle. Contrary to the principles of Socialism, they have taken up the cause of the small peasant land owner as against the big landlord. In this their purpose is clear. The peasants are becoming radical and a bid must be made for their votes; and the cheapest way to buy them is to barter Socialist principles. Dim is the light of principle when placed beside the glittering, flaring lamp of office.

Paul Lafargue, who with Millerand shares the leadership of the political Socialist movement of France, wrote in the *Petite Republique* that the economic phase of the class struggle was past, and that we were in the political phase of it. And Millerand himself long ago, before he became a cabinet minister, concluded a great speech on tactics by stating that they intended only to nationalize each industry as it became concentrated in the hands of a few. These statements are very significant, and furnish strong proof of the drift of the Socialist movement. This same party at the International Congress held in London in 1896 recommended that standing armies be not abolished at once, but gradually reduced by international diplomatic conferences.

I might go on and cite innumerable other instances of the downward tendency of Socialism. I think however that enough has been said, if not to convince any one of the truth of my conclusions, at least to suggest thought on the matter.

We see that both capitalist and Socialist are gravitating from two extremes of political thought toward the common center of public opinion. They are both courting the same fair damsel, both striving for the favor of her hand. One is hailing her from the valley, and striving to attract her attention with bouquets marked "municipal ownership" and "nationalization"; while the other, from the heights, seeing her eyes turned toward these flowers, is hastening down to offer the same allurements, accompanied by more extravagant promises of future offerings, if she will but accept the favor from him. She is very beautiful in their eyes, and the glitter and pomp of her jewels and rank, the ease, luxury and distinction her successful woeing brings, fascinates them; and they are both casting off such burdensome things as principles in their mad rush to her arms. Ultimately they will both reach her; and when they do their coats will be of the same hue; they will both have donned the suit most attractive to her eyes. Then a life and death conflict will ensue between them, and the Socialist will be absorbed by his stronger rival. For the capitalistic woer having the powerful institutions of the world behind him, can be destroyed only by revolution; while the Socialist lover, being supported by theory alone, may be destroyed by assimilation.

The capitalist will kill the Socialist by putting perverted portions of his doctrine into practice, and the Socialist will help him do it. For no relief can possibly come from the one-industry-at-a-time stamp of Socialism, and the capitalist, rather than endanger his position, and to deprive his rival of a weapon of attack, will gladly transfer the title of certain industries from himself as capitalist to himself as the government.

Government ownership cannot improve the condition of labor, at least not while the wage system continues, for the tendency of wages is always to drop to the life line.

No matter how much salve you may apply to a wound, if the cause is not removed it will never heal. No matter how we may patch and paliate the present system, it will never improve, because the thing itself is fundamentally and basically unsound; and must be cast into the shades of oblivion before the mournful cries of a suffering humanity can be hushed. Socialistic salve, such as proposed by the capitalistic and Socialistic parties, will only aggravate the gapping wounds of society; and discontent will increase and multiply despite their efforts to allay and suppress it.

The army of the unemployed will increase and become more bold in its demands for work or bread. This will necessitate the enactment of more stringent laws for the protection of property, and against the liberty of the individual. Medieval codes of punishment will be revived; men will be flogged for deserting the wives and children they cannot see starve in their presence; train-robbing and kidnaping will be made capital offenses; all of which will tend to bring government and governmental "remedies" more and more into disfavor with the workers, who must eventually become completely disgusted with the whole scheme of political Socialism, and abandon all hope of bettering their conditions by its methods; and all honest men who, having allied themselves with the Socialist party in the hope of realizing a Socialism that would benefit mankind, seeing its deterioration and desertion of principle, will leave it.

What will then be left for them to do?

Having turned away from government and governmental methods of reform, they must then espouse their opposites. This proposition is self-evident. There will then be no middle way; they must be either for or against. From governmentalists they must become anti-governmentalists; from politicians they must become revolutionists.

The Socialist party having been mutilated and absorbed by the middle class, but one movement will be left with which these discontented hordes, driven to desperation by the fraud and chicanery of the office-seeking Socialist politicians, may ally themselves; one movement that because of its dissimilarity of methods and tactics from those of all "reform parties" cannot be tainted by their corruption.

That will be the Anarchist movement. And to it the revolutionary workers, those who have always made history, will surely flock. They will then see that free Communism is the natural and logical step in the evolution of society, after the enthralling chains of capitalism have been rent asunder; and that the supposed intermediary step, Socialism, had blended into, and became the CLIMAX of the capitalistic system.

JAY FOX.

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Among the evils of war is interference with freedom of the press. A Manila editor has lately been deported by militry orders, and the *South African News* of Capetown is suppressed by martial law.—*The Truth Seeker.*

The Lash for Wife-Abandonment.

Desertion of wife and children by the husband, grown to such proportions described by the official paper of the Chicago Bureau of Charities as alarming, should be punished either by the lash, or by compulsory labor. . . . In a report by Ernest P. Bicknell, of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, 2,085 is the number of wives and families deserted during the last year in Chicago. . . . Thos. D. Hurley, president of the conference of charities and corrections of Illinois, said: "The man who abandons his family should be imprisoned and made to work, the fruits of his labor being used for the support of his family. In Chicago he can be used the year around with ball and chain on his ankle in cleaning the streets. Or he can be put at profitable work in the prisons. . . . The State could afford to pay his family the amount of the man's labor, minus the support of the prisoner. . . . If this cannot be done, I believe the whipping post to be the next best thing. . . . There is no use in trying to argue with this class, they can only be reached through the cuticule. . . . the judge may order that he be whipped once a week . . . For minors a birch rod or leather thong may be used, but for adults only a leather thong."—Chicago *Record.*

Seven long centuries ago it was believed that reason, morality, religion and ethics could be imparted to men by lashing the cuticule. Seven long centuries ago there reigned a hell on earth,—the Spanish Inquisition. For seven long centuries it was believed that men could be induced to think by burning out their eyes with red hot irons, by disjointing and breaking their bones, cutting off their ears and pulling out their tongues. It was by this method that the Church intended to inaugurate the reign of their Christ on earth, to cause men to love each other, to establish social order, and to remove iniquity. For five long centuries men groaned and suffered and died; and there arose at last from the tomb of man,—a Voltaire! And civilization was vindicated. Voltaire, the agnostic, the infidel, the man of logic and reason, came and taught mankind to think while he laughed away their fears, their morality, their justice, their tears and their God. And he drove God and ignorance back into the cloisters of the Church. Does history repeat itself? Has the Christian God again crept forth into our midst to bring slaughter, and ruin, and to desecrate the temple of reason? Is the world once more to see the priestly, holy claws of superstition seize and strangle unto death the voice of reason and freedom?

In the name of justice let us stop and reason! Do these monsters in human form believe they can give love eyes by administering the lash? Is not love deeper than reason, and the underlying cause of life? Call it egoism if you will, but never asceticism. That is perversion; Christianity; godism; despotism. Love is free! Can it be quickened into life by the lash, ye monsters? When love ceases to exist from natural causes, do you purpose to enforce the continuance of a most vile and bestial prostitution by means of the whipping-post? What is your marriage system but a system of the vilest prostitution; a system that would make private property of love; an effort to make love a thing of license, of barter and exchange to render an income to Church and State; to keep the weak and poor in abject fear and obedience so that they may be more easily robbed. I had always believed that if one would remain true to himself he could not be untrue to his love; that in this

was the totality of men's life and social order. Would you have it that a man should not be himself, but a liar, a hypocrite?

Charitable Messieurs Christians, what an omniscient (?) God you serve,—or pretend to serve, rather, in your cant and duplicity! Would it not hasten your downfall if you were to speak the truth to your suffering, patient victims, and tell them that there could be no charitable societies if it were not for a leisure class constantly sucking away their life-blood?

By all means give more cat-shows; it is a more becoming occupation than agitating for cruel laws to punish the victims of your horrible environment. What a nice lot you are, you leisure class, you charitable societies! Your higest ambition is to avoid any semblance of worthy manual labor. Your aim is to be what you call "independent," and this independence you gain through the misery, broken hearts and mental and physical impoverishment of thousands of human beings,—your fellowmen, sacrificed on the alter of your lust for power and idleness,—government and aristocracy. What a glorious independence it is! And, when you have gained this independence, and have forced the loving service of your fellow human beings, at the mouth of your cannon or the cruel pangs of starvation, into an obedient serfdom, it is then that you hide your hideous face behind the mask of CHARITY. Your horrible perversion of justice, called charity, is your crime breeder, and you are the criminals, the only real criminals. Your marriage law is an institution to keep yourselves in existence, and when the grind of your system of exploitation, robbery, competition and hatred has crushed out all nobleness in man, his true sympathy and affection; crushed out all his willing love-service, and your "law-mated" pair should separate, you would pretend justice to the woman by lashing your law-made criminal at the whipping-post. Indeed, you offer even a wiser suggestion: to fasten a ball and chain to his ankle and force him to labor for the State, thereby lessening taxation, and providing more room for economic robbery of the masses. You with your God are the cause of crime, and your brutal punishments are but the synthetical application of Christian morality. Thus the State depends upon the Church, and *vice versa*. They are co-existent institutions, and must fall together before mankind will be free. But who are your criminals? Those who resist your invasion. You say you cannot argue with such "habitual criminals," and we are glad to hear that their reasoning power is superior to your own We do not beleive that there are habitual criminals, — unless it be Congress. No, we will confess, these "habitual criminals" cannot see the logic in your argument, for their manhood, their intelligence, all their loving service sees nothing in your life but tyranny, injustice, and glorious nature made hell.

Your parasitical, perverted idea of independence does not alone destroy your own manhood, but it is pathologically infecting society at large. Men are becoming sycophantic slaves of custom, style, Grundyism, and the true and real sense of free and natural interdependence is almost destroyed. We constantly see our proletaires affecting this sniveling independence, parading the streets attired in cheap "hand-me-down" clothes, 49-cent kid gloves, and affecting an elegant disdain and superiority toward his brother worker whose whole time is occupied in providing food for his starving wife and babies. It is this abject, foul "independence" that is the foundation of all despotism, authority and government; it is this insufferable, parasitical "independence" that is the basis of your so-called "superior" and "inferior" classes. It is the basis of fashionable society, robbery, murder — and wife-abandonment. Wife-abandonment will cease when woman is free, and not before. Free from your enslaving marriage laws, from sexual slavery, from economic slavery; free to call herself her own, body and mind, and until then woman will be sacrificed on the ever-burning altar of Church and State. Yes, dear Christian Samaritans, continue your Inquisition, exterminate the poverty-stricken "law-breakers." Your mentally wrecked god-believer demands a sacrifice, and it is well for you that the weak and helpless shall be offered at the altar of your imposed government and superstition, so that you shall not be found out too soon; so that you may continue to prostitute and crucify glorious manhood and womanhood in order that you may secure your vaunted "independence," to organize charity societies, citizens' committees, cat-shows and the like.

One of the chief factors in capitalistic success is the family institution. They call it the unit of society. It is the unit out of which they propose to make the individual a cipher. It is, therefore, very necessary that the laws which their legislatures have passed in their behalf, be rigidly enforced. It is not well to have too many women and children starving to death before the public; so the ball and chain and division of the "fruits of his labor" with the starving ones is a very essential reform. If you have money, and wish to marry, you may do so; for money will make you immune from the law. This is capitalistic individualism; to bribe legislatures and extort money from the starving, helpless masses, and become free, independent. This is really what freedom in America means, whether you like it or not.

Suppose you pass this law, who will execute it? The sheriff. Let me cite you a few facts. The laborer, the producer, is taxed (all tax falls on his head in the end) to provide funds for supplying food to the prisoners in the county jail. Your law provides 25 cents a day with which to feed each prisoner. The food actually provided costs but 5 cents,—perhaps not even that amount. Now, there are on an average 600 prisoners in this jail-reformatory all the year around. This gives your sheriff a net income of $43,000 a year; and in addition to this, the county laborer sweats out $6,000 a year more for his salary. This makes his total income nearly $50,000 a year. Those who are confined in this hell-hole of civilization are only too glad to do any work in order to exercise their aching, cramped and emaciated limbs, consequently he is at no expense to run his institution. He is one of the many extraordinary products of your system of law and government—a legal criminal. He is seeking what you call "independence." But would it not be a hard matter to confine him in his own jail? And this robber, or his subordinates, are frequent lecturers before your charitable societies, telling you of the great sociological reform resulting from such an institution, where the foul-smelling, horrid-tasting food is kicked through the bars into the prisoners' cells, the floor being covered with dirt, filth and vermin. And these prisoners, long before their time expires, actually fight for this nauseating food. They are becoming "reformed."

Oh, ye tyrants, when men awaken from their lethargy, this horrible nightmare that is upon them, woe is you! When the sweet loving service of labor awakens to a true conception of its nature and being,—then will the fittest survive. Charity societies,—bah! Would you help the famine stricken? Then destroy your leisure class. Would you do away with ignorance? Then destroy your churches. Would you do away with what you are pleased to call criminality? Then destroy all governments. But woe is you when offended toil shall at last awaken and tear aside your charity-mask and reveal your hideous, appalling and disgusting countenance, your blood-sucking parasitism; for nature will deny you. GEO. B. BROOKS.

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International Solidarity Group.

CIRCULAR.

The daily annoyances to which we are subject, and of which the evident aim is the revival of persecution, lead us to foresee a new period of authoritarian repression. In view of this it seems necessary to at once take some practical precautions.

We believe that we should fortify our position in advance against the harassing vexations and special measures to which we are exposed owing to our claim for freedom of opinon, and wish to defend those who are oppressed because they hold certain ideas which do not happen to be held by others.

1. To draw attention to every despotic act.

2. To aid by every possible means morally and materially, the victims of such acts, and especially prisoners and their families.

3. To assist those who, owing to their opinions, are compelled to leave their country as refugees.

Toward this end we propose, by means of the press, by placards and pamphlets, to make public every act of oppression, every abuse by authority, every violation of the rights of men; we shall organize meetings, arouse public protest.

We solicit cooperation and have already opened a permanent fund. Friends will kindly send their supscriptions to our comrade, Charles Albert, at the Bureaux des Temps Nouveaux, 140 rue Mouffetard, Paris.

We will publish the adhesions sent us by comrades and by those who, while not actually in touch with our ideas, are yet sympathizers with our aims.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

Notes.

After considering the matter carefully, we have decided to raise the subscription price of FREE SOCIETY to $1 per year. The size is now doubled, the quality of the paper is much better than before, and other expenses have increased proportionately; so we are compelled to add this extra expense to our readers, in order to make the paper more self-sustaining than heretofore. It is both just to ourselves and the many friends who have to the past devoted themselves untiringly in the effort to keep FREE SOCIETY and its publications above water, that this labor should be more equally distributed. It shall be our aim to make our readers feel that the paper is well worth a dollar, which can and will be done with ample funds at our disposal, and so they will have no cause to regret the increased price. However, as this is an unexpected measure, we will, in order to give the subscribers who are in arrears an opportunity to renew their subscriptions, receive and credit at the fifty-cent rate all renewals and new subscriptions which are received at this office on or before March 6, after which the dollar rate will prevail. But those who are unable to pay for the paper will receive it by dropping us a postal stating the fact.

* * *

We do not, however, think it advisable to send the paper indefinitely to subscribers after their subscription has expired, unless we or our agents are notified that the paper is desired. We would especially urge our delinquent subscribers in New York to communicate either with us or our friend M. Maisel, 170 Henry St., otherwise their names will be taken off the list.

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Note and Comment.

Teddy Roosevelt has been manifesting the "strenuous life" by hunting lions in Colorado. He is probably anxious to keep in practice so that he will be qualified to hunt nobler game later on.

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Do you play policy? The gambling mania has reached such proportions that even the school children in our large cities have become affected, and spend their pennies and nickels in "bucking the wheel." Of course this causes intense indignation among the hypocritical pencil shovers of the capitalistic press, who have no word of condemnation for the big gamblers of Wall Street, the Stock Exchange, or the operations of such men as Morgan and Rockefeller. That suggestion and example are powerful incentives to imitation is being made plainer every day. It is difficult for the undeveloped intellect to draw fine comparisons between the virtue of stock gambling and the vice of policy playing.

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The utterances of press and individuals commending Mrs. Nation's attempt to cure lawlessness by lawlessness plainly shows that it is not lawlessness *per se* that is deplored and dreaded by the masses of the people, but only violation of law for a specific purpose, when the public conscience has not been sufficiently aroused to the enormity of an evil. This Kansas episode seems to indicate that any purpose might be accomplished (or attempted) by so-called lawless methods if the people were sufficiently in sympathy with that purpose. The main thing is to educate the public conscience.

* * *

Lincoln believed that the Declaration of Independence was written for all men and for all time, and provided the only safe rule for human government.—*The Commoner.*

The above indorsement by Mr. Bryan of a certain jingo sentiment will undoubtedly strike the great mass of his 50,000 readers as plain good sense and patriotic statesmanship. To me it is simply an utterance of conservatism. From the standpoint of twentieth century ethics and economic development the Declaration of Independence as a declaration of human rights must be regarded as a back number, not fully adequate to meet the demands that are even now struggling to find expression. Of what avail is the declaration that men are entitled "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" when the means of life are permitted to be monopolized by a few men, when "liberty" means little more than freedom of locomotion, and "the pursuit of happiness" is confined to pursuit of a job at wages barely sufficient to sustain existence? It strikes me that a new Declaration of Independence is very much needed—a declaration of independence from economic bondage, and a declaration of human rights which shall clearly indicate man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness with the necessary means for accomplishing that right.

* * *

Comrade Emma Goldman is undoubtedly right in assuming that a belief in force and violence is not necessarily a feature of the doctrine of Anarchism. Yet I believe that an Anarchist may use force and violence without violating the principles of Anarchism. The use of force against invasion is always permissible; and while it may not be in accord with the highest ethical principles, which seem to teach passive resistance to evil, it is in consonance with nature's teachings and apparently also with the law of retributive justice. I have always taken the ground that all means against the present damnable system are justifiable, although from the standpoint of utility some means may not be politic or necessary. As a revolutionist I shall always reserve my right to resist invasion (and surely the present system is the very incarnation of invasion) with all the force I possess and by any means in my power. With me it is simply a question of expediency—the right time. For those comrades who believe the time has come for them to resist this invasion to the death, I have not one word of censure. Possibly we shall all in the mean time become imbued with the love principle to such an extent that we shall not care to use our undoubted right to resist by violent means. W. H.

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Certain Comment.

A complete catalogue of the *semi*-Anarchist periodicals of the United States would fill several columns of FREE SOCIETY, and would make exceptionally interesting reading. It would include a multitude of papers, whose occasional lapses into coherence are invariably accompanied by the expression of distinctively Anarchistic ideas, the validity of which are in no degree impeached by the inability of the half-awake editors to follow up the truth expressed by themselves. The following quotation from the San Francisco *Star*, which may be allowed to stand without comment, (except that the use of the words "right" and "wrong" may be questioned,) is a typical case:

As an expedient to suppress Mrs. Nation's joint smashing, it is proposed to substitute license for the Kansas prohibitory law. Now there are just three points in that connection systematically overlooked both by Prohibitionists and the license advocates. They are: (1) Either the sale of liquor is right or it is wrong. (2) If wrong, the State, etc., has no right to derive a revenue therefrom and thus sanction the wrong. (3) If right, the State, etc., has no right to tax people for exercizing a right by following a legitimate occupation. . . . However that may be, it is evident that law, by license or prohibition, only muddles up the subject and makes it more complicated, as it does many other things. If we had 99 per cent less law and about ten times more "faith, hope and charity," we would all be better off.

* * *

The emperor and his ministers have decided to give Cuba her independence—with a string to it. She is to be free—but to remain under the permanent tutelage of the United States. She is to be free—but must adopt a constitution acceptable to the Washington pirates. She is to be free—but without the power of defending herself against invaders. She is to be free—but may make no treaties against the interests of the American money-kings. In other words, she is to be free in name only. The maladministration has no intention of keeping a single one of its pledges to the people of Cuba, no more than it has kept those made to the people of this country; and "freedom" in Cuba is designed to be the same farce that it is at home.

* * *

The *Weekly People*, with characteristic injustice to all that does not bear its own label, condenses into a short paragraph a greater number of misrepresentations than can often be found in the same space. Its comment on the Comstock outrage, of which Comrade Govan was the victim, is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end, even with regard to minor details. Even Comrade Govan's name is given incorrectly. The first sentence contains four lies. *Discontent* is not published at Delano Beach, is not a Social Democratic paper, has not been excluded from the mails, and has never contained "indecent" matter. If Socialists choose to ally themselves with the vile Comstock gang, and pour forth a flood of billingsgate on

every victim of its blackmailing schemes, they will at least do well to acquaint themselves with the facts, before hurling editorial lightning at the head of every honest student of the sex question.

* * *

One of the Columbian revolutionary leaders is on his way to New York to purchase arms and ammunition for the rebel forces. There is some satisfaction at least in the fact that we can derive a little substantial benefit from the quarrels of our annoying southern friends. —San Francisco *Call*.

There you have the ethics of capitalism in a nutshell. What a glorious thing it is to traffic in human lives!

* * *

The people of the United States are this year to be robbed of more than four hundred million dollars, for the support of those hideous social excrescences, the army and navy. How could we live, without a government to bleed us?

* * *

The death of a greedy and miserly old woman in England has given rise to an immense host of sycophantic adulations, which disgrace the intelligence and self-respect of two continents. Scarcely a grain of wheat can be found amid all this chaff. The periodicals of the country, including many "reform" papers, have vied with one another in shedding crocodile tears over a superannuated imbecile, whose one idea in life was to clutch the earnings of her subjects, in order to pile up gold in her own coffers. She was of about the same mental and moral calibre as our own miser, Hetty Green, whose name is rarely mentioned save in contempt. So much difference does a glittering bauble make, in our "democratic" age. The mere negative fact that she was not dissipated or licentious, in the common use of those terms, is accepted as a substitute for her utter lack of red blood and of positive virtues. That she shared certain of "the ordinary household decencies" in common with millions of other English women, is howled abroad as an extraordinary fact. This is significant as a confession that it is a surprise to find even the most commonplace trait of decency in a ruler, since most occupants of thrones are mere human beasts, like William of Germany, or wretched curs, like Edward VII. of England. What did Victoria ever do for the elevation of her race? Nothing, absolutely nothing, although in the midst of opportunities such as no woman ever had before. She was an enemy to her own sex. Her infamous treatment of all divorced women is proof enough of this. Her stinginess was an ever-present manifestation, notably when her subjects were dying by thousands of starvation in Ireland and India; while the "good" and thrifty queen, who was able to *save* nearly a million dollars a year out of her gigantic income, for which the people were systematically looted, scorned to lift a finger for the aid of the sufferers. Greedy, cold-blooded, heartless, esteeming the common people whose labor maintained her in luxury, and on whose life-blood she fattened, of less value than the dirt under her feet, a mere thief and parasite of the most worthless type, the empty-headed puppet-queen has ill deserved the flaring tributes paid her by tens of thousands of prostituted pens. These be thy gods, O government worshipers! Elective or hereditary, whether styled kings, queens, emperors, czars, or presidents, in political life the scum always rises to the top. Only Anarchism makes a clean sweep of the whole rubbish, by establishing social order without rulers or ruled.

* * *

There are rumors that China will resist the latest outrage on the part of the allied robbers, whose lust for blood, superadded to their greed for plunder, has led them to demand more than even the patient Chinese can concede. Would that the Celestial Empire could muster up sufficient energy and strength to drive every invader from her shores! JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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A Word For Servant Girls.

Not long ago I read that the trades unions of Minneapolis, Minn., were trying to organize the servant girls and induce them to come into the union. This is a move in the right direction, and one that I would like to see grow; for there are no workers more imposed upon than house servants.

All over the land are women and young girls who work from 4:30 a. m. till 8 p. m., and, if their employers happen to have extra work, at times, even later. But no matter how many extra hours are put in outside of a fair day's work, no extra wage is added. Another great hardship is that only a part of Sunday, and generally a small part at that, is allowed this class of workers. Last summer a servant girl said to me, "If I only could feel that when the sun went down Saturday night, I was free till the coming Monday, it would be such a rest." Now if there was any organization among house servants, it would be a very easy matter for them to exact a definite number of hours as as a day's work, and also to gain the luxury of liberty from Saturday night till Monday morning.

These things mean a great deal to the class that literally earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. It also means a chance for intellectual improvement, in the coming together, and serious discussions that would ensue as to the best means to advance their interests. More vital still, it would create a feeling of relf-respect, and a certain rugged pride in their work. Organization would teach them that the useful workers are the "salt of the earth"; it also might lead them in time to question the divinity of a system that kept one class of women in the parlor, and another class forever in the kitchen, wearing out body and mind catering to their whims.

It is often urged that the mistress is a much put upon and abused mortal through the incompetency, shiftlessness and impertinence of her help. Observation and personal experience have convinced me that any sympathy spent in this quarter is a dead waste of energy. In the first place, these wholesale charges are an insult to a vast army of women who do all the work in the homes of that class of women who are able to live without performing anything in that line themselves. And this fact proves that the white or black slaves in their kitchens are fully competent to fill their position. If there are a few exceptions, the mistress gives a speedy dismissal, and hires one that will fill the bill. The majority of people generally slip in complaints about the weather when gaps occur in conversation; and among idle society women it comes just as natural to complain about their servants. As a rule the women of the middle class, who lead idle lives, are heartless so far as showing any consideration for their help is concerned. The following are a few examples life-size.

Number one, an aristocratic, intellectual and Christian woman, explains to the girl she has hired her for three dollars per week. "We will expect you to stay Sundays until dinner is over and the dishes washed, which will be about 2:30 p. m. If you wish to go to church you may go Sunday night." It is needless to add that madam attended divine service at 11 each Sabbath; while the maid servant at home was washing dishes, picking the feathers off chickens and wrestling with the details of an elaborate dinner.

Number two bewailed the impudence of a girl she had "fired." "I repeatedly told that girl not to fill the range so full of coal that it would choke the draft, but she would persist in telling me that she knew enough to build a fire." "Well," remarked the party who was listening to her tale of woe, "her reason should have told her not to choke the draft off." "Reason!" snapped the mistress, "she was here to do my bidding, reason or no reason." It is safe to affirm that this is the dominant spirit of the average mistress.

Number three kept one servant at $2.50 per week. Lizzie was a pretty country girl; and she was cook, general housekeeper and laundry woman. This mistress was a tyrant. On ironing days she compelled the girl to close the doors and windows of a sweltering kitchen, lest the incoming air would wrinkle her muslin gowns. In addition, when she contemplated an afternoon call, Lizzie was obliged to fan her while she was making her toilet, for fear perspiration might streak her face with the paint she had daubed on. This edifying task generally occupied a half-hour or more.

A few years ago I talked with a very intelligent Swedish woman, a first-class servant, who worked for a number of years in the cities of Des Moines and Marshalltown, Iowa, at an average wage of three dollars per week. I was told that the burdens imposed upon servants by the codfish aristrocacy of these towns were almost intolerable. It was an endless round of duties from early morn till late at night. On washdays she arose at three o'clock in the morning, and bent over the wash-tub till time to prepare the eight o'clock breakfast for her employers. In common with other servant girls, she was compelled to do this in order to keep abreast of the work which every day threatened to overwhelm her. This woman told me that the first three years of her experience as a servant had seriously injured her health, for the reason that she made every effort to comply with the rules and caprices of her employers. Then she learned better; that it was folly to kill oneself by inches for three dollars a week; and so from that on she shirked as much as she dared, and when the mistress' back was turned, done things in a way conducive to saving her strength, even if in doing so conflicted with the house-

hold formula laid down. It does not take an overly bright servant to catch on to the fact that a mistress has certain laws to guide servants in the performance of the household tasks that she herself would not abide by were she doing the work.

Another noticeable fact is, that women who will spend money freely on fashionable follies, exhibit the financial closeness of a Russell Sage in regard to economizing on a servant's wages. If they can crowd enough work for two womeu on one, it means a few more feathers in their hat. But why waste ink in enumerating further the ills suffered by this class of workers? I have not alluded to the social stigma attached to their line of work, because the idiocy of the thing disgusts me; but through organization they would win what all their faithful service has never won—the respect of the world.

The formation of unions among servants will give them a sense of power and personal worth, and a corresponding desire for liberty. A union will gain for its member fewer hours as a day's work, and more hours for recreation and reading. Moreover, it will gain for a vast army of overworked, overtried women once a week the luxury of twenty-four hours of liberty, the sweetness of which inspired Burns to sing of the humble, precious joys of the "Cotter's Saturday Night."

Caplinger Mills, Mo. KATE AUSTIN.

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Jesus and Socrates.

All volitions, Aristotle said, resolve themselves into three—to make, that is to modify particular objects; to know, that is to get a view of everything in general which shall be satisfactory; and to persuade. Bacon achieved immortality by showing that the first of these is the only one which leads to any actual success; and Froebel, a follower of Bacon, showed this must be so; first, because making is the creative impulse—nature's own volition; secondly because it is identical with the play-instinct, which is fundamental in every conscious organism. So far as the volitions to know and to persuade are ever gratified, this is done incidentally, while following the volition to make. Science knows. It furnishes approximate solutions to those very problems on which speculative philosophy exhausts itself in vain. Science persuades. If any man doubts her conclusions she refers him to experiment. What that will not verify is no conclusion of hers! But outside science no knowledge is attainable, nor can anyone be permanently persuaded that it is. Systems run round in circles; and those converted to one are speedily reconverted to another. The scientific volition, which thus alone gratifies either the desire to know or to persuade, is a volition to make. Science differs from the useful arts, out of which it sprang, and which, in turn, it has so prodigiously advanced, in this way only, that, instead of aiming to make for an ulterior purpose, it aims to make merely for the pleasure of learning how. But the volition to make does not end, or rather it does not begin with science. It begins, and ends, in beautiful art. Take out of any man his ideals, and he would not be a man at all. The volition to make, though it is universal, as Schopenhauer perceived, would be in such a person unconscious, as it is in the plant, or instinctive only, as it is in the animal. If men desire riches, posterity, honor, length of days; forgotten artists gave them such ideals. If they learn to think lightly of them, that is because later artists have given them other ideals. Unlike science, beautiful art makes not new particular objects, but views of everything in general under particular forms. It differs from metaphysics in this important respect that the latter, a mongrel offspring of the scientific method and the artistic purpose, proposes its views of everything in general as satisfactory; while the divine function whereby art makes man a spirit instead of a dray-horse, consists in teaching him never to be satisfied.

And what has all this to do with Socrates and Jesus? It has much to do with putting them in their proper places, a service apparently much needed at the present time. A special admirer of either would pay him a bad compliment by fearing he can be degraded in this manner. The idol can lose a factitious glory only by receiving full credit for those indisputable merits which have never been adequately recognized. That both Socrates and Jesus were too great, too deep, to be easily understood, is evident from the enormous difference in the opinions of those who claim them for their masters. Every school of metaphysical theory—idealism, materialism, dualism, theism, atheism, scepticism, pantheism, monadology—professes to start with the method of Sacrates. Every phase of moral and social theory—Romanism, Protestantism, Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, Anarchism, Egoism, Altruism,—finds it convenient, at least very often, to profess having originated in the preaching of Jesus. There is, however, a common ground whence all these schools may agree to view their alleged percursor—I mean, of course, the biographical. It will be readily admitted that Socrates, though he disclaimed the title, was not only what the Greeks called a sophist, but the king of sophists, the unapproached master of dialectics, who argued every dogmatist into a confession of inconsistency, while always apparently holding up consistency as the test of truth. It is far from unlikely the true explanation of his famous irony was a concealed persuasion that consistency is no test of truth, that it is possible to be consistent only within particulars, that a view of everything in general must be untenable logically and interesting only artistically, that experiment is the guide to fact, and thought only to that endless dissatisfaction which is the vital air of progress. If so, his truest interpreters are Bacon, who thought his method mischievous, because all sophists since his period had used it; and Hegel, who reduced this to an aphorism, that consistency is of the finite, and truth, being infinite, must be contradictory. Socrates waited a long time for these really kindred spirits; and they almost alone did not recognize him as their teacher.

In Jesus, on the other hand, want of the logical faculty amounted to an idiosyncracy. "Short and concise are the sayings that came from him," says a very early Christian, famliar with Plato, "for he was no sophist, but his word was power divine." It is dreadfully true that Jesus was no sophist (arguer), but the passage falls short of truth. As if conscious of his own deficiency, Jesus seldom tried to argue; but according to stories in the Gospels which have a great appearaace of authenticity, he sometimes did—always with the result of arguing very badly. The most ignorant Greek with whom Socrates ever picked a crow could have held his end better than Jesus does in Matt. xii, 22–37, or many other places. Yet the statement is not without significance that "his word was power divine." To reject as immoral casuistry the ritual of his nation, as idle word-catching the logomachies of the Gentile schools; this was (can we wonder at it?) "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness." When we reflect upon the unquestionable truths that gnomic wisdom is a mere string of contradictions, a pearl from which may be swallowed to stimulate the will, but which, taken as a whole, can only perplex the reason, and that Jesus has given us nothing else; that the result has been mainly the infuriated strife of Christian factions animated with all their master's zeal and with all his ignorance of what proof consists in, over (we may say) little else than a compendium of platitudinous Oriental theosophy; harsh sayings rise very readily to our lips.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum. "The evil which men do lives after them—the good is oft interred with their bones." Yet it is clear there was something else. *The least appreciated part of Jesus, as of Socrates, is the best.* Nothing Jesus said has been so much ridiculed as that whatever men ask in faith they shall receive. Yet what else is inspiration of genius—the courage of conviction which distinguishes it from that meaness at whose door original thoughts are turned away like angels in disguise—than just this that we may have whatever we really want, and seek with consistent knowledge that we do? Few Christian doctrines have been more reviled than that faith alone saves—indeed the largest Christion denomination has repudiated it, in words, though not in fact. But it really is the one idea which makes the death of Jesus a common era to all who lie between the confines of Hicksism and popery. Without Semitic deification of conscience, there never could have been liberalism—because nothing less than fear of sin can nerve against fear of the world. And worship of conscience is worship of Moloch, unless we see the Judge voluntarily dying like a criminal for the guilty. (Too often it is, after all.) One hesitates to mention Jesus' condemnation of riches, for other men-dicant saints preached that and found it an easy way to live—as apparently he himself did. But it has at least the recommendation of positively proving all Christian Churches to be anti-Christian. Jesus here is ahead of Socrates. We can only suspect that Socrates would have condemned the logic of those schools which profess to follow him. We may be quite sure Jesus would condemn the lives of the societies which claim to follow him.

As Jesus is the admitted incarnation of love and Socrates of logic, it is not strange there has always been an ill-concealed unpleasantness between their devotees. But it is characteristic of those opposite "views" between which idle controversies prevail,

that their ground of battle is ultimately abolished by a new view. For a pertinent example—Christianity terminated the Stoic and Epicurean war-cry "Virtue!" "Happiness!" by assuming with such emphatic suavity that in virtue alone is happiness. We have seen reason to think Socrates expected some such result for his method. Nor was Jesus without a similar intuition. "It is expedient I go away," he told his personal worshippers, "for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you. . . . Greater things than these shall ye do, because I go to my Father." Of this "Comforter," one of the first who had any experience said, "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is *liberty*." It is very doubtful expediency to assert, as a new theory of Jesus, that he was an Anarchist. There are too many theories of what he was already. It is easy to prove that the spirit which means liberty and originality acknowledges obligations to Jesus—and to all for whom the habit of going by their own inner lights ever accomplished liberation from Philistine bondage.

C. L. James.

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Here and There.

Prosper Ollivier Lissagaray, the historian of the Paris Commune, died in Paris on the 23d of January, 1901.

The telegraphic bureaus that go into spasms over the death of every insignificant statesman, did not deem Lissagary's death of sufficient importance to announce it to the world, so we are only informed of it through the European papers, which have just arrived. Lissagaray was born in 1838. As a journalist and author, his pen was always at the service of those who strove for freedom and were an oppressed people. His energetic and aggressive fight against the empire, in his early days, resulted in various fines and imprisonments. During the siege of Paris by German troops, he advocated, in fiery eloquence, the Commune. He escaped the Commune butchers, by fleeing to England; from whence he returned through the amnesty of 1880. He also, later, earned the bitter hatred of the powers that be, but he remained true to his Communistic convictions to the end. Lissagaray's fame will live in the memory of those who love and fight for the working class.—*Weekly People.*

Anarchist ideas have made great progress among the miners in Austria and Bohemia. Since the great strike was lost through the machinations of politicians, the workers have lost hope in that quarter, and hence the spread of our ideas as a consequence. The miners have a journal of their own, the *Hornik* (Miner), which is now in the second year of its publication. But the paper has a hard struggle to appear, as the editors are harassed constantly and frequently imprisoned, and nearly every issue is confiscated by the government. The workers themselves are also persecuted, some being driven from one place to another, and others exiled. The effort is of course exactly opposite to that which the government wishes to accomplish, and revolutionary ideas continue to spread unceasingly. These exiles stanchly support the Miners' Union in this country, and counteract the schemes of priests and politicians.

By the way, why was the Slavonic supplement to the *United States Miners' Journal* discontinued? Had President Mitchell been able to read this important part of the journal, he would have hesitated to make the motion in the last convention. The Slavonic member, as every other member of the Union, now has to pay one dollar for the journal, without deriving from it any benefit, as he is unable to read English. If the English-speaking miner had been able to read the Slavonic supplement, he would have received from it some new ideas; while the intelligent Slav finds the English part ancient and mediocre, especially those parts devoted to obituaries, calling upon God, etc. Perhaps the Church had an interest in abolishidg this excellent part of the *Miners' Journal.*

The French workers perceive more and more that they have nothing rational to expect from the Socialist ministry. Since the shooting of the strikers in Martinique and Chalons-sur Saone, they are compelled to the conclusion that the difference between all governments is nil. Through extensive resistance and numerous strikes the workers have achieved ten, and in some places nine and eight hours as a days' work, while children were prohibited from working more than ten and one-half hours in any case. Now comes the Socialist Millerand with a new law, making the legal workday eleven hours until 1903, thence ten hours till 1905, and so on, that after ten years of "legal evolution" the worker finds himself at the place where he was when the "lawful evolution" commenced. But this is not all. In one of his latest speeches Millerand declared that strikes were useless and dangerous, and should be settled by arbitration. Now another law is to be introduced making strikes illegal, compelling the workers to submit to arbitration. By such paternal legislation do the "leaders" of the workers attempt to destroy their initiative and self-reliance. However, they are aware of the danger this measure involves, and some of them have issued a manifesto to the public, pointing out the danger to the wealth producers in such legislation.

Our French comrades have united under the name of International Solidarity Group, and hope to extend these groups throughout the world. They have issued a circular, which appears in another column, explaining their aims and objects. It is also endeavored to establish an International Bureau of Correspondence. These associations are not exclusively Anarchistic. In France such men as Zola, Mirbeau, Urbain Gohier, and others, are among its members. This is one of the results of the Paris Congress, which the French government attempted to suppress.

The Italian government continues to take tyrannical and repressive measures, and the harassing persecution to which our comrades are subjected exceeds in many cases even those in Russia. The latest outrage is a law which will enable the government to proceed against any Italian Anarchist for concocted crimes, no matter where he may be residing at the time, whether in England or the United States. It is only necessary to pronounce him guilty, and demand his extradition. What results will follow remains to be seen. Some day an avenger like the gentle-hearted Bresci will arise; some tyrant will be hurled into the oblivion of death; and the unthinking world will condemn. The suffering of our peaceable comrades, who asked only to be let alone, the tyranny of the government, which is too weak to stand an exposition of the truth—these will be forgotten then, and only a glittering crown stained with blood will be held up to the world for pity and tears. But on tropical islands, in arctic mines, in underground dungeons, in martyrs' graves—here our comrades, who loved liberty and their fellowmen, will wear away their lives, or sleep the blessed sleep, receiving no pity, and asking none; but hoping, if they are not already beyond hope, ever hoping that mankind will rise some day and set them free.

Recently in Finland a most unmistakeable demonstration took place, showing clearly that they have not yet fallen in love with tyranny. May their indepedent spirit grow ever stronger until the Russian monarch is thrown off their backs.

Weyler has momentarily brought about quiet (the quiet of the sword) in Spain; but the rulers dare not discontinue martial law, nor to abandon any precautionary measures. Weyler summoned the newspapermen in Madrid and told them that the censorship would be discontinued, but that no news about the disturbances should be published by them. One of the editors informed the butcher that a censorship was entirely unnecessary, but the papers should be prohibited entirely, as it was useless to publish them if they could not print the news.

Free press and speech and the right of peaceable assemblage are constantly growing in this country. In San Jose Cal., some Socialists were jailed for speaking on the streets; in Palmer, Mass., W. S. Allen was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for distributing a pamphlet; and in Jersey City Heights, N. J., some of our Italian comrades attempted to have a social time, whereupon twenty policemen appeared on the scene and broke up the gathering.

Through the recent railroad combination, 50,000 thousand employes will be thrown out of work.

The silk mill owners in Scranton, Pa., have announced that they will starve their employes into submission, even if the mills have to be kept closed until July. The strikers now number 6,000.

The Italian and French comrades in Spring Valley, Ill., not desiring to frequent the saloons, formed a club, duly incorporated by law, to enjoy a few hours of recreation in a sociable manner among themselves. But they learned that only the rich are permitted to have their own club rooms, as two members have been arrested under the pretense of having sold liquor without a license. The comrades are determined, however, to resist this outrage.

Comrade Peter Kropotkin, whose name is a household word among the comrades the world over, is now in this country. He is at present in Boston, where he is delivering a series of lectures on "Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century" before the Lowell Institute. He will deliver lectures in New York and Philadelphia, and also in Chicago.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY.

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The FREE SOCIETY SUSTAINING CLUB meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Ave.

Take the Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Ave. or Paulina street, which is one block east of Ashland Ave.

For NEW YORK.

Emma Goldman will speak on Friday, March 8, 8. p. m., at the Manhatten Liberal Club. Subject: "What Will Lessen Vice?"

For PITTSBURG and VICINITY.

The Commune Celebration, arranged by the comrades of McKeesport, Monesen, etc., takes place at Lock No. 3, in Jacob Meyer's Hall. The last train from Pittsburg leaves 6:20 p. m. from Lake Erie Depot, South Side. Everybody invited.

For ST. LOUIS.

Grand Commune Celebration given by the Debating Club, Saturday evening, March 9, 8 p. m., at South St. Louis Turner Hall (up stairs), Cor. Tenth and Carroll Streets. Tickets, 10c. a person. After the lectures and concert dancing will be enjoyed.

Governmental Peace.

Secretary Gage has sent to Congress a statement of the expenses of the permanent court of arbitration at the The Hague for the past year. They amount to $19,800.

Of this modest outlay for the new international court of peace the United States is asked to pay $1,630. Great Britian's share will be about the same.

This makes a total annual expenditure for "peace on earth" by the two great English-speaking nations, numbering together about 130,000,000 highly civilized people, of nearly $3,300—or a little less than one-four-hundredth part of one cent per capita.

Within the same year the war bills of the United States and Great Britian in the Philippines and South Africa were not less certainly than $500,000,000, or nearly $4 per capita.

The ratio of peace to war expenditures at the opening of the twentieth century, therefore, as represented by these two great nations, is 3,300 to 500,000,000—or say, $3 for peace to $500,000 for war.—New York *World*.

Revolt.

I do not agree with many comrades regarding the advocay of a revolution. I believe that the cause of human misery should be plainly pointed out; and I as firmly believe that men should be encouraged to resist encroachment and tyranny. Too long have the workingmen been told to submit, to keep strictly within the law. We know there will be a revolution as soon as men muster the courage. Discontent is widespread, and if organized labor would show a little manliness when trod on, they would wring concessions from the ruling class that would enable them to give a little more time for self-culture. For instance at Hazleton three years ago, when those men were murdered, had the miners risen *en masse* and hung those cowardly curs, the deputies, to the nearest trees, I am convinced that the cause of liberty would have advanced fourfold to what it has by the cowardly submission. We know that rage and grief filled the hearts of the miners, and we know that their leaders counseled peace and a law-abiding spirit.

A revolution is inevitable. Will fifty thousand rebels await the slow tide of evolution, till the other two hundred thousand are also converted? They never have, and if they had, men would still be broken on the wheel, and the spirit of the dark ages prevail. It is the active resistance of invasion that has given us what little liberty we possess.

I may be hot-headed and impulsive, but it puts hell in me to read of workingmen shot to death. What can be more horrible than to see one of the useful members of society transformed into a lifeless lump of clay, because he feebly p otested against injustice? More terrible were the murders in Milan. Over two hundred men, women and children were killed for making a dash for the bread shops. Now, in the name of humanity, of honor, decency, and liberty, I applaud revolt.

K. A.

The Letter-Box.

Dr. A. H. C., Berwick, Pa.—Letter forwarded, and books sent. "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" as published in book form, are the same as those which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*; but some portions have been revised and augmented, especially those parts relating to Western Europe.

Ch. P., Panama Mo.—M. O. received, and pamhplets and papers have been sent. It would not be difficult to improve the paper still more, if every reader could only induce *one* of his friends or acquaintances to subscribe during the year. This would double the subscription list every year and consequently be one of the best means of propaganda.

L. H., Paterson, N. J.—We don't know whether Tucker's *Liberty* is published or not. *Discontent*, Home, Wash., is also an Anarchist paper. Then there was the *Labor Record*, Joplin, Mo., which could be classified as an Anarchist periodical; but we have not received this bold and outspoken warior since we are in this city.

K. W., Philadelphia.—The paper will be sent regularly. We had not received any letters from you before. The book list you will find on the last page of FREE SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Cohn, Mechanic, Herman, Lund, Vogt, Solotaroff, Etkin, Cuttner, David, Meitlin, Maisel, Schneider, Mehlfarber, Sale, Richards, each $1. Levinson, 75c. Rice, Steen, Benequith, Appel, Walecka, Golub, Shilhan, Jaeger, Brown, Finkelstein, Jensen, Kalinowitz, Pschirer, Stoekle, Holb, Rueff, Heyboer, Nastoupil, Eichel, Wolfman, Wiegand, Forman, each 50c. Gordon, Cleich, Schmuckler, Spiegel, Rosenberg, Flax, Pines, Hoffman, Krash, each 25c.

DONATIONS.

Bauer, $2. Cohn, $1. Appel, 50c.

MEETINGS.

NEW YORK.—The Social Science Club meets every Thursday 8. p. m., 250 W. 23th Street.

PHILADELPHIA—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday evening at Industrial Hall, Corner Broad and Wood Streets. Lectures, questions and discussirns concerning the topics of the hour.

PITTSBURG—The Debating Club meets every Sunday afternoon 2 p. m. at 155 Crawford St. Take any Fifth Ave. car Pride St.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem	H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism	Grant Allen	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question	"	05
Prejudice?	M. Bachman	50
God and the State	Bakunin	05
The Same. (London edition.)		10
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune of 1871.	G. B. Benham	25
The Worm Turns	V. de Cleyre	10
The Evolution of the Family	J. M. Crane	05
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